4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

collectively, are called by the Japanese "The Hokkaido." The nearest of the Kuriles to Yezo is Kunashiri, and south of it lies the smaller island of Shikotan; then comes Etorofu, the largest of the group; then Urup; after this a number of unhabited islets, reefs, and rocks form a barrier separating the Otkoshk Sea from the Pacific Ocean. Shimushir, at the south-western end of this barrier, and Onekotan, at the north-eastern, are the two largest, Shimushir being about thirty miles in length and four or five wide, and Onekotan about twenty-five miles long and eight wide. Paromushir (a corruption of the Ainu words *poro*, large, and *mushiri*, island) is the last island of the group. It has a large reef on its south-east coast, and is divided by a channel six or seven miles wide from Cape Lopatka, the most southern point of the Kamschatkan peninsula. Paromushir is about twice the size of Urup, and is very mountainous, with rugged cliffs of volcanic formation, and high picturesque peaks, bearing the same characteristics as the scenery in Etorofu and Kunashiri, and also of Kamschatka. I have mentioned this last island, as it is of some interest, being the most northern point of the Japanese empire; and also to a certain extent it is interesting from a geological point of view, but, as far as I know, it is not inhabited now, and the few Kurilsky Ainu who formerly lived there migrated further south from one island to another, till Shimushir [1] and Urup [2] afforded them a more hospitable home. However, they were not to live there for long, for the Japanese Government, asserting that subjects of the empire who chose to live so far could not be properly looked after, sent the small ship on which I was now travelling on a mission with orders to bring them all down to the formerly deserted island of Shikotan. The orders had to be obeyed; and reluctantly setting fire to the huts which they were about to abandon and never to see again, ninety souls, all that remained of that nomad tribe of Ainu, were embarked and carried into exile at Shikotan. The quiet life on the Shikotan rocks little suits the roaming disposition of the Kurilsky Ainu; and though even formerly they were rapidly dying out, the rate of mortality has increased since their exile. Having thus verified the fact

[1] *Shimushir*, High Island. [2] *Urup*, name given to a kind of salmon.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles.

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck — of the "Kamida Maru" — a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast.

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, "Kraftu"[1] being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of

[1] Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

[P. 179]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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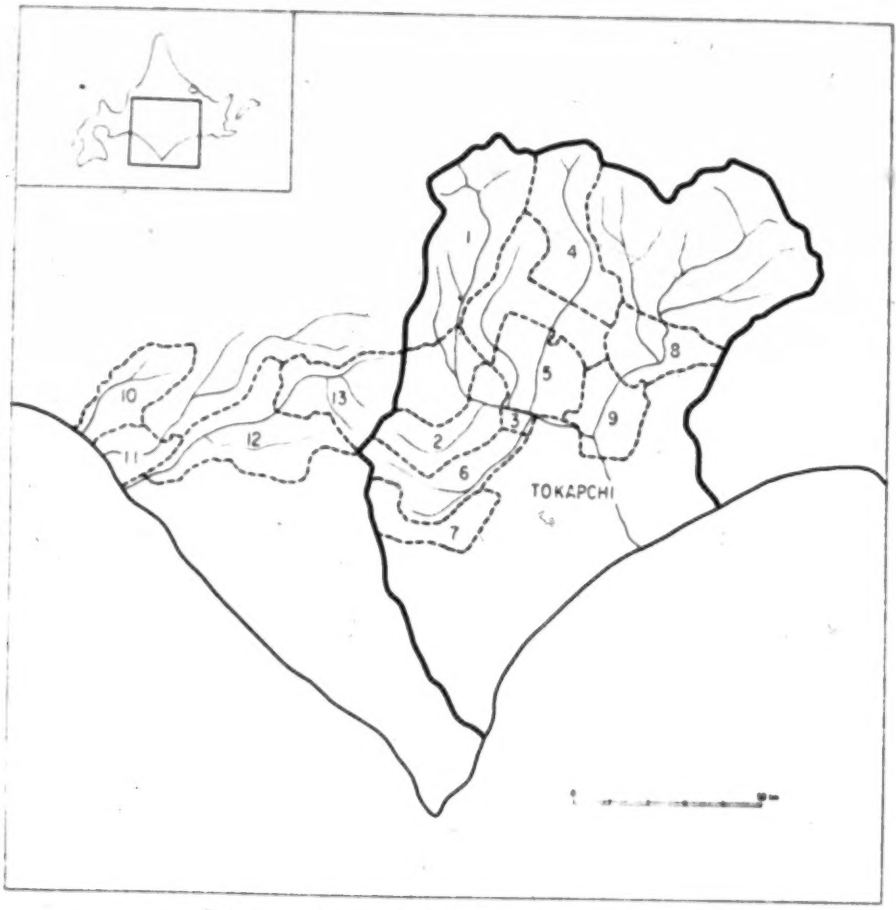

Reference Map for the Chart on Japanese Settlers.
The area numbers correspond to those given in the chart.

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saki magistrate, published in 1809), vol. 2, contains a report of a Dutch merchantship which touched Hokkaido in 1643 saying: 'A settlement of twenty houses is about the largest I ever saw. Six or seven, even, eleven at most, is the number of houses in a village. And these settlements lie far between, seldom less than a mile apart'. In fact, according to records of the Kansei and Kyōwa eras (ca. 1790 down to the later 1810's) when Japanese influence first extended to these areas ("Kondō Seisai Zenshu", Complete Works of Seisai Kondo, vol. 1, p. 29), out of twenty-five settlements in six

[For data pertinent to this map, see pages 92-93--Analyst]

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

71). With the development of their administration and the expansion of trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards. At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses contained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*, coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupation for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATURA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the development of this district under Japanese management that the natives came to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts, to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Although the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior *kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The settling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabulated as follows:

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Tokapchi District (including Otopuke and Satnai valleys)

Area Number	Name of Area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
1	Shintoku	1897	First immigrants: 2 men.
		1902	Immigrants: 9 families.
		1907	Sudden increase in immigrants owing to establishment of a railway communication.
2	Memro	1886	First immigrants: 3 men.
3	Obihiro	1882	First immigrant: a man (advance party).
		1883	First group immigrants: a party of 32 people.
4	Kamishihoro	1903	First immigrants: a party of 6 men.
5	Otopuke	1880	First immigrant: a man.
		1885	Agricultural instruction to the Ainu by the governmental officials started.
		ca. 1887	The Ainu of the area started, under goyernmental instructions, emigration to the new settlements in the Tokapchi valley.
		1896	Removal of the local Ainu to the allotted areas in the Otopuke valley.
6	Kasai	ca. 1895	First immigrants: a family.
7	Nakasatnai	1897	First immigrants subsequently came from various parts of the Japanese mainland.
8	Honbetu	1880	Only a few Japanese used to come for barter with the Ainu.
		1896	First immigrant: a man.
		1897	First group immigrants.
9	Ikeda	1879	First immigrant: a family.
		1880	Several hundreds Japanese came to engage in deer hunting and barter, living in temporary huts and Ainu houses located near the junction of the Tushipet river.
		1882	The hunters and merchants dispersed away owing to a sudden fall in the number of deer caused by a heavy snow fall. Only a few remained to settle down.
		1885-1889	Some officials were sent to the area to give agricultural instruction to the local Ainu.
		1886-1892	Several immigrants (less than five).

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Azuma River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
10	Azuma	1800	Some officials of the Tokugawa Shogunate and the Nambu clan immigrated to the coastal area.
		1870	An immigrant to the coast.
		1881	First immigrant to the interior.
		1887	Second immigrant to the interior.
		1888	The Ainu in the area were brought together to live in a new settlement, given instruction in agricultural technique.

Mukawa River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
11	Mukawa	1875	A family came to settle, engaged in fishing and running a hotel business.
		1882	First immigrants as farmers: some families.

Saru River

Area Number	Name of area	Year	First and Early Immigration of the Japanese to the Area
12	Hiratori	1870	First immigrants: 2 officials as agricultural instructors. Immigrants subsequently came after them.
		1880	Establishment of a public office at the coastal settlement, Sarufuto.
		1899	Japanese houses totaled 300 or more; total population of the Japanese immigrants about 2000.
13	Hitaka	1905	First immigrant; a man.
		1907	Second immigrants: 3 men.

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For the size and distribution of Ainu settlements in the days of gathering activities, HABARA quotes from 'Hokkaido Kyu-Dojin' (The Former Natives of Hokkaido) published by the Hokkaido Government: "The Ainu combine a few to a dozen houses in a settlement and live scattered over wide areas" (HABARA, 1939, p. 73). TAKAKURA remarks: "An Ainu community used to be extremely small-sized. Tokunai Mogami in "Yezo Zōshi" (A Story-Book of Yezo) (1790) writes: 'In Yezo a settlement is composed of no more than five to seven houses. Ten houses is considered a large one, which is very rare.' "Yezo-Zakki Yakusetu" (Translations from Miscellaneous Foreign Works on Yezo translated by Teiyu BABA at the order of the Naga-

1: Kolarz J-4 (no date) 1954 RR1 Siberia
AINU 186

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.[44]

Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.[45]

In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.[46]

Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.[47] Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.

/18 cont./ 1. (cont.)

361 [113] [114] [103] northernmost village inhabited exclusively by Ainu, but I suspect that there is a printing error in this name for "Urussi." On Schebunin's map a village "Urotzi" is shown immediately south of Orokes. This is probably meant.

361 131 leaves aside the aforementioned village of Taraika which is separated by Orok settlements, only slightly more to the north, about at Naioro. Speaking precisely, the Ainu therefore do not inhabit the entire southern half, but only a little more than a third of the island. In this part, moreover, they occupy not only the coast, but also, in smaller numbers, the interior of the island, 131 along some of the larger rivers (2). The true Ainu island, with

• 169 [113]

2. Rudanofskij, loc. cit., Avgustinovich', Zhizn' russk. i inorodts. na ostr. Sakhalinie /The Life of the Russians and of the Aborigines on Sakhalin Island/, St. Petersburg, 1874, p. 39.

the densest population of this tribe, is, however, Jesso, from where the Ainu have spread, not only northward to Sakhalin, but also northeastward by way of the Kurile Islands. Their territory extends over almost the whole island chain of the Kuriles up to Poromuschir /Paramushir/ or the so-called "Second Island," which they occupied even before the arrival of the Russians in Kamchatka. The island of Schumschu /Shumshu/, on the other hand, the last toward the north or the first from Kamchatka, received its population first from this peninsula through Kamchadal or Italmen who fled before the Russians and later mixed with the Ainu (Kuriles) 131 who came over (3). The fact that formerly the Ainu also

[113] 3. Krasheninnikov", "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /Description of the Kamchatka Region/,"

/18 cont./ 3. (cont.)

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Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1818, pp. 143, 145). Steller, Beschr. von dem Lande Kamtschatka /Description of the Kamchatka Region/, ed. by J. B. S., Frankf. and Leipzig, 1774, p. 7. Müller, Samml. Russ. Gesch., Vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1758, pp. 79, 81. Schlözer /Schlötzer/, Allgem. Nord. Gesch. /General History of the North/, Halle, 1771, pp. 433, 434. "Neue Beschr. d. Kurilischen Inseln (nach den Nachrichten von Tschernyi, Antipin und Otscheredin) /New Description of the Kurile Islands (according to the reports from Tschernyi, Antipin, and Otscheredin/, in Pallas' Neuen Nord. Beytr. /New Northern Contributions/, Vol. IV, 1783, p. 117. Siebold, Aardrijks- en volkenk. toelicht. tot de ontdekk. van Maert. Gerritsz. Vries /Geographical and Ethnographical Results from the Discoveries of Maert. Gerritsz. Vries/ A. Polonskii, "Kurily /The Kuriles/" (Zap. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch. Po otdiel. Etnogr., Vol. IV, St. Petersburg, 1871, pp. 374, 375, 421, 423).

131 inhabited Nippon will be discussed later. Thus the area of distribution of the Ainu embraces throughout only islands on the eastern edge of Asia. There are absolutely no continental Ainu, of whom there has often been mention, following Klaproth's example. We shall come back to this in greater detail below.

Ainu AB6
Early Japan AB3
Feudal Japan AB2
Sakhalin Island

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E.J.
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of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast. It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the

A
E.J.
[114]

5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J.
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F.J.
[113]

6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV, Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously from the same source, Klaproth in the supplement to Rinsifée's, San kokf tsou ran to sets,

SS 162 G [131] [162] /317 cont./ Next come the Olcha, who, however, occupy only a small territory in the Amur region. The Goldi, certainly more numerous in their totality, are dispersed over a wide territory and therefore are only sparsely represented everywhere, most sparsely between the mouths of the Ussuri and Sungari. The southernmost part of the Amur River, between the mouth of the Sungari and the Bureja /Bureya/ Mountains, is a prairie wilderness almost completely without people, and then begins the upper Amur region, which is only temporarily visited by nomadic hunting peoples, except for the part cultivated by the Manchu, Chinese, Daur, and, immediately above the Bureja Mountains, by sedentary Birar.

SS 162 132 G A 131 162 132 In general the population situation on Sakhalin is different from that on the mainland. Here the southern part, occupied by Ainu, seems to have a greater population than the northern, Gilyak part of the island. To be sure, the southern part, washed on both sides by the branches of a warm current, is climatically much more favorable than the northern part, which, especially on its east coast toward the Sea of Okhotsk, has an extremely harsh, almost polar climate, but here again the reason for this phenomenon may lie in historical and political circumstances rather than in physical conditions. Warred upon and subjugated by the Japanese in the southern part of their area centuries ago, and constantly oppressed and afflicted since then, the Ainu moved northward more and more and found a homeland on Sakhalin, where up to a few decades ago they led a free and independent life, unmolested by their enemies (1). It is not surprising, then,

SS 162 A 648 167 131 161

1. See above, pp. 148 ff., 256 ff.

that in the course of time their number there increased considerably. In the northern, Gilyak part of Sakhalin, on the other hand, a decrease in the population has taken place. I believe that I have shown on linguistic grounds that a part of the Sakhalin Gilyak left the island, perhaps as a result of the pressure from the Ainu, and moved to the mainland, to the lower Amur and the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk (2). A more numerous Gilyak

SS 162 G 131 161 648 167

ooo 2. See p. 214 above /untranslated/.